informants or locations, another dimension is added here. Individuals can be identified and the establishment of trans-generational continuity is possible.

Two areas of theoretical concern particularly lend themselves to investigation under the fortuitous circumstances of being able to trace changes occurring over time among a specific group. The first is cultural change: the second, human population control mechanisms.

In regard to cultural change, until forty years ago the Caribs of the Upper Barama River were adapting to the equatorial rain forest with essentially a lithic technology. They combined hunting, fishing, and collecting with a semi-nomadic form of horticulture. Currently, the majority of these Caribs are settled at a community known as Baramita Air Strip. They engage in wage employment, make use of regional markets for local products, participate in agricultural development programs, and benefit from national medical programs. From a position of relative isolation in the rain forest, this group has been increasingly encapsulated in the national political economy. Attending this development has been changes in their population size and composition as well as internal organization. These changes are a major focus of the present study.

In pursuing the analysis of these changes, cultural materialism is relied upon as the most economical mode of explanation. Among others, Harris (1968) has proposed that techno-environmental determinants can serve in a comparative approach to cultural adaptation. One example of this approach is Murphy and Steward's comparison of the Mundurucu of Brazil and the Northeastern

from 12:30 to 4:00 in the afternoon, Monday through Saturday. Over time, salaries varied. During the last years of the company, men were usually paid about $4 a day. At this time, men also earned the equivalent of $4 a day for job work for which the terms were more flexible. Considerable inputs of human labor were included in all aspects of mining activities; cutting loggings, feeding a ball mill, turning a winch, shoving a wheelbarrow and so forth. When operations were of such a nature that the shaft had to be continually pumped of water, shifts worked around the clock. During these times, if a worker failed to come, Baird would take his place. As a standard procedure, Baird would suspend a worker for two weeks if he failed to turn out for a scheduled work period. In the Upper Barama River area, remote from transportation and communication networks, the need for a reliable labor force was thus stepped up with an increased industrialization of the mining enterprise.

Baird had a need for a limited number of workers, but increasingly, he needed workers who were experienced, dependable, and could be called out for any emergency or change in work schedule. On the other hand, permanent workers, without any other immediate subsistence resources on which to rely, sought assurance of job security. Throughout the existence of the mining enterprise, there were fewer jobs available than men wishing to be employed.[1] A situation was promoted in which Baird and the Carib workers made mutual demands, characteristic of the generalized but asymmetrical economic reciprocity conveyed in the personal relationships between a patron and his clients.

candidates who were unemployed at the time, one man was selected by the largest number of votes to serve as Captain for a four-year term. Other candidates for the Captaincy became Councillors. Of these offices, only the Captaincy is a salaried position. It receives $150 a month.[4] The duties of these offices, which have been more clearly defined with the government settlement project at Baramita Air Strip, have provided a basis for the redistribution of the Captain's salary to a wider section of the population. However, the office of Captain among the Upper Barama River Caribs does not differentiate the officeholder in any sustained fashion from the rest of the population. Similar to other forms of local employment in the Upper Barama River area, the Captaincy is not a vehicle to gain a control in regional markets or to accumulate deployable forms of capital.

Previous to the establishment of the mining companies, the dispersed Carib settlements tended to be closed with regard to obtaining and sharing local subsistence resources. This pattern was apparently little disturbed by the first trade goods brought by the mobile porknockers. However, the money economy and the centralized channels of regional exchange introduced by the mining companies markedly altered Carib subsistence. External resources came to be critical to the subsistence patterns of the expanding local population, and settlements became more centralized around their source. In 1969, Baird's mining activities were directly supporting 171 individuals or 33.9 percent of the total Carib population at the time. Located nearby at Baramita, Aranka, and the Air Strip, another 190 individuals

returned to rain forest subsistence. There was no household without a large farm, but it was some time before new farms became productive. In addition, all of the Carib men were anxious to gain some money income to buy commercial items they had come to consider a need. However, there were few employment opportunities and the demand for local products was very limited. Although maintaining a subsistence relationship to the rain forest, the population nucleated around the air strip as much as possible to make use of the few remaining resource opportunities, including health care, food programs at the school, and whatever was available by way of casual wage work.

More men sought work than that available. Government station hands were hired. Work involved carpentry, cutting grass, filling water tanks during the dry seasons and other tasks. For a time, four men had these jobs. By spring 1971, only one man was left in this employment. Also, occasionally men were hired on project work, including stumping out areas, lopping down secondary bush at the extreme ends of the air strip, and building a clinic under one of the government residence houses. The pay for this work was about $4 a day, and the work schedule was from 6:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M., allowing the men time to farm or hunt during daylight hours.

Baird's private activities also entailed some employment opportunities. He was considering a partnership which would take him to the Potaro River for gold mining. He made a three week prospecting trip there in November 1970 and took along six of his former workers.

Other opportunities for work at the Air Strip involved carrying loads for the Medical Ranger and the Agricultural Field Assistant.

*177 464 Periodically, they made field trips to the more remote settlements, including those in the headwaters of the Barima River. Also, more extensive employment was available with the Malaria Eradication Officer. He visits the area about every six months and employs about ten men for periods up to six weeks. The pay for carrying loads for [465] the Agricultural Field Assistant was about $4 a day. Those men employed by the officers of the Ministry of Health received about $6 a day.

In short, jobs were temporary and limited, similar to the early employment with transient porknockers. In contrast to the casual participation in the early opportunities, the limited jobs available at Baramita Air Strip constituted an unemployment problem. The Upper Barama River Caribs before and after thirty years of mining activities were operating on a very different economic basis. The commercial goods and a steady source of provisions provided by employment had come to be a desirable alternative to maintaining a farm in the bush. Nevertheless, due to the impermanence of employment, a Carib who becomes separated from a subsistence relationship to the rain forest is in a precarious position, as witnessed by the subsistence crisis experienced by the former miners and their families when In Time mine was closed. The remaining regional markets available at Baramita Air Strip were specifically intended to augment an agrarian subsistence among the Upper Barama River Caribs.

*177 659 241 429 654 A large number of men were involved in subsidized agricultural development. In the summer of 1970, the first field was cut. About four acres of black-eyed peas were planted. From the harvest, 350

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[43] [1]Although the market opportunities have been limited in the Upper Barama River area, they are not much improved at either the Cuyuni River or Matthew's Ridge where segments of the population have gone. Matthew's Ridge, a mining settlement with single men from the coast, is viewed as a particularly predatory environment by the Carib men, [593] especially those with more than one wife. Men are wary to take their [361] wives along and equally wary to leave them unattended anywhere else. As external resources have gathered this dispersed population a substantial number has elected to remain in the Upper Barama River area and organize around the sources of opportunity there.

[435] [56] [2]A rifle costs about $150 and a license must be obtained.

[3]Guyana became an independent nation in 1966.

[4]Amerindian Captains' salaries are based on population size. The Upper Barama River Carib Captain receives the highest salary which is for a population of over 500.

[465] [5]In addition, food was distributed to settle a request of a year's standing that payment be made to fifteen men who had helped clear the sites for the government buildings at the Air Strip. Other government subventions reached this Carib population. At [747] Christmas and other times, care packages from the Canadian Red Cross were sent into Baramita Air Strip by the Amerindian Welfare Officer and contained clothes, school items, toys, and powdered milk.

[435] [6]This figure included 6¢ a pound for bananas and plantains and 3 1/2¢ a pound for apple bananas.

*177 476 the dependent partners are identifiable. This contrasts to the associational nature of the previous pattern of cooperation among the Carib men.

*177 175 462 The increased isolation of the family group resident in a clearing has affected the assignment of tasks according to sex. Gillin reports a discrete separation of tasks (1936:3,46,51,71). Men would hunt and clear fields, construct houses, canoes and cassiri kanus, and do all basketry and plaiting. Women would harvest cultigens, gather edibles from the forest, prepare all food, sew, tend children, and exclusively assist in childbirth while the men were not allowed in the clearing. Men and women would cooperate to plant fields and poison streams for fish. During 1970-71, men were observed in their own households engaged in all of those tasks which previously were allocated to women. For the most part, women's tasks are those which must be done on a daily basis. Men assisted with the activity when the females in the household were otherwise indisposed and there was no wider circle of females to call upon. Men now commonly deliver their wife's children. Women, on the other hand, were not observed taking part in any of the men's activities.

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*177 437 [436] Exchanges between people from households in different clearings are now conveyed in terms of immediate exchange. Barter has been used, but increasingly the exchange of labor, food, or craft items is conducted with money. Labor assistance, including help in clearing and planting fields, building houses and cassiri kanus, and processing cassiri, is paid for either in food or money. Manioc tubers, the prepared cassava cakes, turtles and other bush meat are

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